

# MEMORANDUM

**ON THE OCCASION OF THE 14TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE  
1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIET NAM**

*Supplement*

**F**OURTEEN years ago, concluded after the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam put an end to the French colonialists' war of aggression and recognized the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

In the closing session of the 1954 Geneva Conference, the U.S. representative declared that the United States would respect the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos and "refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them."

Nevertheless, the United States has constantly been repudiating and sabotaging the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. On the other hand, since 1955, and recently in the official conversations in Paris, it has stated that it regards these Agreements as an "adequate basis for peace" in Viet Nam.

Why and for what purpose this change of tune?

# I

## U.S. ASSERTION THAT THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ARE REGARDED BY IT AS A "BASIS FOR PEACE" IS ALSO AIMED AT WRECKING THEM

**T**HE United States claims the following:

The Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam is the main document of the 1954 Geneva Conference. North Viet Nam is committing an aggression against South Viet Nam, to find a solution to the Viet Nam war, it is necessary to separate the belligerent forces, to restore the Demilitarized Zone to its original status, to renounce the use of forces, to establish international supervision, and to organize elections free from coercion or outside interference. These are "the fundamentals of the 1954 settlement."

This argumentation rests on three salient misleading assumptions:

- There are two Viet Nams.
- The tenor of the 1954 Geneva Agreements is the cessation of hostilities.
- The United States, too, respects the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam.

### ARE THERE TWO VIET NAMS?

**T**HROUGHOUT several thousand years of history, Viet Nam has been a single indivisible country and the Vietnamese, a single indivisible nation.

After more than 80 years of sustained struggle against colonialism, the Vietnamese people successfully carried out in 1945 the August Revolution and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign state extending from Lang Son to Ca Mau Cape and headed by President Ho Chi Minh.

After nine years of a gruelling resistance war (1945-1954), the Vietnamese people defeated the colonialist aggressors and won a splendid victory.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements have recognized the unity of Viet Nam. The partition of Viet Nam into two zones separated by a demilitarized zone and a military demarcation line at the 17th parallel was to be only provisional, it mainly served the purpose of disengaging the Viet Nam People's Army and the French Expeditionary Corps; the latter was to withdraw subsequently from South Viet Nam. While providing for the temporary partition of Viet Nam, the Geneva Agreements also contained explicit stipulations on its reunification:

1. "... General elections shall be held in July 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the member States of the International Supervisory

Commission, referred to in the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from 30 July 1955 onwards." (Paragraph 7, *Final Declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference on the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China*).

3. "...The military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary." (Paragraph 6, *ibid.*)

The U.S. manoeuvres have always aimed at sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, and prolonging the partition of Viet Nam in an attempt to turn the South into a military base and a neo-colony of the United States, for an eventual aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and other countries in this part of the world.

The U.S. scheme was transparent in this statement made by U.S. President D. Eisenhower on July 21, 1954, one day after the end of the Geneva Conference:

"...The United States has not itself been party to, or bound by, the decisions taken by the Conference."

In the same vein, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles declared on August 6, 1954 that an anti-communist defence line would be drawn, which would pass North of Hue City and protect Cambodia and Viet Nam, south of the 17th parallel.

Ngo Dinh Diem who had been trained by the United States in Lakewood (New Jersey) since 1951, and installed as head of the so-called "Republic of Viet Nam," brazenly declared in 1957:

"The U.S. frontiers extend to the 17th parallel."

In furtherance of American plans, the Ngo Dinh Diem Administration refused to enter into consultations for the holding of general elections to reunify Viet Nam. It banned all movements of the two zones across the provisional military demarcation line, and in March 1956, it held separate elections with a view to setting up in South Viet Nam the so-called "Republic of Viet Nam."

It is clear that the "Republic of Viet Nam" was created by the United States to prevent the reunification of Viet Nam. U.S. deliberate use of the "two Viet Nams" contention shows that it continues to crudely distort history and the Geneva Agreements and stubbornly strives to maintain a divided Viet Nam in an attempt to cling to South Viet Nam.

## DO THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIET NAM PROVIDE ONLY FOR THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES?

As everybody knows, the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam consist of two main documents:

— The Final Declaration of the members of the Conference — a document dealing jointly with Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

— The Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet Nam signed between the representative of the High Command of the Viet Nam People's Army and that of the High Command of the French Union Forces in Indo-China.

All members of the 1954 Geneva Conference, including the United States, have undertaken to abide by these documents which constitute an indivisible whole.

The Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities was designed to solve short-term problems, mainly the ending of the French colonialists' war of aggression and the restoration of peace in Viet Nam.

With regard to Viet Nam, the Final Declaration was meant to solve both short-term and long-term problems, the cessation of hostilities and the political problems. Its stipulations were couched in unequivocal terms. For instance:

### 1. On the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the relations between the members of the Conference and Viet Nam:

"In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned States, and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs." (Paragraph 12)

"The Conference expresses satisfaction at the ending of hostilities in Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam; the Conference expresses its conviction that the execution of the provisions set out in the present Declaration and in the Agreements on the cessation of hostilities will permit Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam henceforth to play their part in full independence and sovereignty in the peaceful community of nations." (Paragraph 2)

"The Conference takes note of the declaration of the French Government to the effect that for the settlement of all the problems connected with

the re-establishment and consolidation of peace in Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, the French Government will proceed from the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam." (Paragraph 11)

## **2. On the reunification of Viet Nam:**

Paragraphs 6 and 7, quoted under Sub-head:  
"Are There Two Viet Nams"?

## **3. On the withdrawal of the French troops:**

"The Conference takes note of the declaration of the Government of the French Republic to the effect that it is ready to withdraw its troops from the territory of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, at the request of the governments concerned and within periods which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties..." (Paragraph 10)

## **4. On the consolidation of peace and the guaranteeing of the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam:**

"The conference takes note of the clauses in the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam prohibiting the introduction into Viet Nam of foreign troops and military personnel as well as of all kinds of arms and munitions..." (Paragraph 4)

"The Conference takes note of the clauses in the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam to the effect that no military base under the control of a foreign State may be established in the regrouping zones of the two parties, the latter having the obligation to see that the zones allotted to them shall not constitute part of any military alliance and shall not be utilized for the resumption of hostilities or in the service of an aggressive policy..." (Paragraph 5)

The United States claims to regard "the 1954 Geneva Agreements as a basis" but it considers only the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities their main document. And even when referring to the latter, it only mentions the Status of the Demilitarized Zone and leave out the provisions prohibiting the introduction of foreign troops and the establishment of foreign military bases in Viet Nam.

Why does the United States want "to restore the Demilitarized Zone to its original status" and "to separate the military forces of the two sides"?

It is because it wants to induce public opinion to believe that the war of aggression in South Viet Nam comes from North Viet Nam, not from the United States; in other words, that it is a war between North and South Viet Nam, not between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

What is undeniable is that U.S. troops and weapons have been brought into South Viet Nam by sea and by air; that the two zones of Viet Nam have been attacked by the 7th Fleet on routine duty in the South China Sea and by the U.S. Strategic and Tactical Air Forces based in Guam, Okinawa, Thailand and the Philippines. With its attempt to "restore the Demilitarized Zone to its original status," the United States seeks to conceal these facts and to tie up at the same time the hands of the whole Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, while it has a free hand in bringing troops and weapons into South Viet Nam.

To settle the Viet Nam war, it is necessary to remove its very cause, that is to say, the United States must stop sending troops and weapons to South Viet Nam by sea and by air, cease its air and naval attacks against the two zones of Viet Nam; it must bring its aggression in Viet Nam to an end.

## **DOES THE UNITED STATES RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF VIET NAM?**

**F**OR a long time now, the United States has been nurturing designs to conquer the Indo-Chinese countries and turn them into military bases and neo-colonies.

It helped the French colonialists in their war of aggression in Viet Nam from 1945 to 1954.

It tried by every means to undermine the Geneva Conference in the hope of prolonging and expanding the Indo-China war. Having failed in this attempt, it set about sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

Implementing a neo-colonialist policy in South Viet Nam, the United States installed in Saigon a so-called "nationalist" regime under a cloak of "independence" and "democracy." All leaders of this administration, from Ngo Dinh Diem down to Thieu-Ky have been brought to power or toppled by the United States to meet the needs of its policy. What President Johnson termed as U.S. "commitments" to the Saigon administration is nothing but "commitments" of master to lackey, of invaders to quailings. Such "commitments"

have no value whatsoever and their craftiness can deceive no one.

The setting up by the U.S. in South Viet Nam of a puppet administration, has been in itself an infringement upon the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam and her people's right to self-determination. Its use of this administration as an instrument has constituted an even more serious violation of the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination: it has prolonged the partition of Viet Nam, set up a puppet army, built numerous military bases and a network of strategic highways in preparation for a war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The U.S. — puppet clique have brutally suppressed any opposition from the South Vietnamese people. But the latter, especially since the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation have strengthened their unity, been waging a gallant struggle, and patiently building up armed forces of their own; they have been inflicting increasingly serious defeats on the U.S.-puppet clique.

When the Saigon puppet administration was facing total collapse, the United States took a step of utmost impudence: it massively committed a U.S. expeditionary corps to South Viet Nam, and launched air and naval bombardments against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. With an army of 1,200,000 men, including 530,000 G.I.s and an important air and naval force, it is conducting in Viet Nam the most savage war of aggression in human history. In the past three years alone, it has dropped on the two zones of Viet Nam — 320,000 square kilometres in area — more bombs than on the European, African, Asian and Pacific theatres of operations put together during World War II. It has perpetrated monstrous crimes. The Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal has found the United States guilty of "genocide" against the Vietnamese people. The U.S. war criminals are condemned by progressive mankind, and will be cursed by future generations.

The past fourteen years have witnessed an uninterrupted sequence of U.S. intervention and aggression in Viet Nam. The United States has been unceasingly flouting the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam and her people's right to self-determination, crudely violating the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and international law.

At present, the United States keeps repeating that it "does not seek a partition of Viet Nam," that it "seeks no military bases in South Viet Nam," that it does not seek "to destroy" North Viet Nam...

It is obvious, however, that it has trampled underfoot the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

## U.S. STUBBORNNESS AT THE PARIS CONVERSATIONS

THE Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has clearly set out the purpose of the official conversations in Paris between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States: "to ascertain with the American side the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and then to hold talks on other questions of concern to the two sides." Such an objective is a legitimate demand of the Vietnamese people, the peace-loving peoples in the world and the progressive American people.

Over two months have elapsed, however, without the Paris conversations making any headway. The sole cause of this is the utter stubbornness shown by the American side.

The United States has resorted to a variety of manoeuvres: for instance, it has asked for "discussions on the appropriate time and circumstances" to stop the bombing, for "an admission of the presence of North Vietnamese troops in South Viet Nam..."; it has even suggested discussion of issues not within the scope of the conversations, such as Cambodia and Laos. It keeps insisting on a "conditional cessation of the bombing" and asking for "restraint" from North Viet Nam.

As the United States has brazenly started the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, it must stop it completely as well as all other acts of war throughout the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, without any condition whatsoever. Confronted with U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people have every right to resist it till the complete liberation of their country. The United States has been asking for a reciprocal gesture in return for the cessation of the bombing of North Viet Nam. That is intolerable arrogance. The Vietnamese people will not pay any ransom whatsoever to gangsters!

The so-called "restraint" of the United States is also aimed at covering up its intensification of the war and the new, exceedingly heinous crimes it has been piling up in both zones of Viet Nam. In the North, the United States is carrying out round-the-clock air strikes, even with B.52's, and indiscriminately bombing populous areas. In the South, it is

bringing in fresh U.S. and satellite troops, press-ganging South Vietnamese youths, and massacring civilians by the most massive air and artillery bombardments ever recorded there, especially in the so-called "free-strike zones" around the major cities.

U.S. hindering of the progress of the Paris conversations supplies another indication of its intention to pursue its war of aggression in Viet Nam, to keep on trampling underfoot the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and to insolently challenge the peoples of the world. That is the reason why world public opinion has been sternly denouncing and condemning such U.S. obduracy.

### **U.S. ASSERTION THAT THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS ARE REGARDED BY IT AS "A BASIS FOR PEACE" IS ALSO AIMED AT WRECKING THEM**

**F**OR ten consecutive years, the United States has been constantly repudiating and sabotaging the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. But since 1965, it has been pretending respect for them. The White House has said that the 1954 Geneva Agreements constitute an "adequate basis" for peace in Viet Nam. Why has there been such a complete turning-about with regard to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam?

Waged with the help of a U.S. expeditionary corps of over half a million men equipped with all kinds of modern weapons and with genocidal means, the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam has constantly been intensified, jeopardizing peace in Asia and in the world. The movement of protest against this war is gaining in magnitude and intensity and involves the entire progressive mankind including the American people. Public opinion has realized that the root cause of the Viet Nam war lies in the aggression and U.S. systematic and brazen sabotage of

the 1954 Geneva Agreements. That is why, it insists that the United States truly respect the said Agreements of which the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are an expression.

As far as they are concerned, the U.S. ruling circles have also realized that a military solution cannot save the United States and its puppets from total defeat. For that reason, they try to cling to South Viet Nam by means of a misrepresentation of the Geneva Agreements, that is to say, to gain what they have been unable to achieve on the battlefield.

It is in this context that the U.S. Government has proposed to regard the Geneva Agreements as a "basis for peace" with a view to placating and deceiving public opinion, and covering up its aggression in Viet Nam; at the same time, it tries to "restrain" the Vietnamese people's fight against aggression so as to have a free hand in occupying South Viet Nam.

In obdurately sticking to the San Antonio formula and insisting on a conditional cessation of the bombing of North Viet Nam, the United States has given itself the right to bomb North Viet Nam.

In obstinately holding to the Manila formula and insisting on a conditional withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops, the United States has arrogated to itself the right to conquer South Viet Nam.

In trying to maintain a stooge administration in South Viet Nam, the United States wants to cling to that zone, thereby trampling underfoot the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

It is clear that the United States completely disregards the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. Whether it repudiates the Agreements or professes "to take them as a basis for peace," its purpose remains the same: to sabotage the Agreements.

## **II**

### **THE UNSWERVING POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM**

**T**HE United States is the aggressor in Viet Nam, it has impudently trampled underfoot the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights which have been recognized by the 1954

Geneva Agreements.

The Vietnamese people have never ceased resisting U.S. aggression. Right from the beginning, the South Vietnamese people stood up

against the U.S. aggressors. When the latter expanded the war to the whole country, the entire Vietnamese nation rose up to fight them. As Prime Minister Pham Van Dong stated in the Government Report to the 4th session of the third National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, "All the 31 million Vietnamese, united as one man, are resolved to fight and defeat the aggressors, and wherever the enemy is, all the Vietnamese have the right to go and fight him. That is our people's sacred right of self-defence which has won deep sympathy and strong support from the whole world."

This right of self-defence is an inprescriptible right of all peoples. It is a point of international law. It is legally consistent with the Geneva Agreements.

All progressive mankind sides with the Vietnamese people, extends them strong moral and material support, and firmly opposes the U.S. war of aggression. The Governments of the fraternal socialist countries have expressed their readiness to send volunteers to Viet Nam when requested by the Vietnamese people. Millions of people in the world, in Europe, Australia, Asia, Africa and America, have volunteered to come and fight side by side with the Vietnamese people. The latter are deeply moved by this valuable sympathy and support, and grow increasingly aware of their heavy but glorious responsibility to defeat the U.S. aggressors so as to meet the expectations of their friends in all continents, and to fulfil their obligations to the socialist camp, the peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism and the peace-loving peoples in the world.

**F**OR its part, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has always strictly implemented the Geneva Agreements as a whole.

It faithfully implemented the provisions on the cessation of hostilities, and placed under the administrative management of the other side wide areas south of the 17th parallel, which had been under its control during the resistance war. To reunify the country, it has perseveringly demanded that the provisions on consultations and nationwide free general elections in July 1956 be enforced. It has proposed the re-establishment of normal relations in all fields between the two zones pending Viet Nam's reunification.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has been enduringly struggling against violations of the Geneva Agreements by the United States and the Saigon puppet administration

and insisting that these correctly implement these Agreements.

On April 8, 1965, after the United States had expanded the war to the whole of Viet Nam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam voiced the unshakable will of the entire Vietnamese people to fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. At the same time, it put forward its four points as the basis for the settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

Point 1 demands that the United States withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam and stop the bombing of North Viet Nam. This aims at guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, as stipulated by the Geneva Agreements.

Point 2 makes it clear that pending reunification, the two zones should admit no foreign troops and military bases on their respective territory, should not join any military alliance with a foreign country, in order to maintain and consolidate peace in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

Point 3 affirms the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination in the settlement of their internal affairs.

Point 4 asserts the entire Vietnamese people's right to self-determination in the reunification of their country.

The gist of the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is to assert and guarantee the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

They constitute the basis for a sound political settlement of the Viet Nam problem because:

— they are consistent with the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam;

— they meet the South Vietnamese people's earnest aspirations as expressed in the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation;

— they suit the practical situation now obtaining in Viet Nam.

The four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have been enlisting increasing strong sympathy and support from the peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples in the world.

In contrast, the U.S. professions of "respect" for the Geneva Agreements, however perfidious, have been sternly condemned by public opinion. For they are claims uttered by aggressors, warmongers and saboteurs of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

### III

## THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL WIN

**F**OURTEEN years have elapsed since the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements.

Viet Nam should have been reunified and the people of the two zones reunited under the same roof, in independence and peace. However, due to the aggressive schemes of the United States, Viet Nam remains partitioned, and every day, Vietnamese fall under U.S. bombs. Upholding their sacred right of self-defence, the Vietnamese people in both zones have been resolutely waging a people's war with a deep confidence in their ultimate victory.

The situation in Viet Nam over the past 14 years has pointed to the following:

1. The United States is the aggressor in Viet Nam and the saboteur of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people are the victims of the U.S. aggression and are fighting to defeat it as well as to uphold the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements.

2. Life supplies increasing evidence that the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are the basis of a sensible political solution of the Viet Nam problem because they are consonant with the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, with the spirit of the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and suit the practical situation now prevailing in Viet Nam.

3. The United States has deliberately tried to scrap the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, but it has failed in its effort because of the opposition of the peoples of Viet Nam and the world.

The great victories won by the Vietnamese people are also those of the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, the peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples, the demo-

cratic and peace organizations, and progressive personalities in all countries. They are brilliant victories of a just cause.

The United States will sustain more setbacks so long as it pursues its aggression in Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people from North to South are determined to respond to the sacred appeal of President Ho Chi Minh:

"Our 31 million compatriots in the two zones, old and young, men and women, must be 31 million valiant fighters determined to win final victory over the U.S. aggressors to save the country."

The Vietnamese people are sure to attain their objectives, namely, to defend the North, to liberate the South, to proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the country, and to make a contribution to the maintenance of peace in Asia and in the world.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam call upon the fraternal socialist countries, the peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples, all democratic and peace organizations, and all progressive personalities in the world to sternly condemn the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam, and firmly demand that the United States unconditionally stop its bombing raids and all other acts of war on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, withdraw the U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, bring its aggression to an end, and respect the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people.

*Hanoi, July 17, 1968*

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC  
OF VIET NAM